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ABSTRACT

This paper reconsiders some of the ways in which black American psychology has been theorized and researched, and proposes some alternative models. Black personality is in part an adaptation to the political contours of racism, the cumulative representation of the effects of racism over four centuries. However, the only systematic statements of black personality present it as a debilitating, self-defeating reaction to difficult circumstances. Being black in America often leads to a bifurcation of self, a split between an African heritage which bestows degradation and insult, and an American heritage which seems to offer promise and opportunity. Psychologists should devote more research time to the political construction of the psychological conflict endemic in being a black American. The remainder of this paper surveys research on black personality and outlines ways to view the intersection of racism and black personality. Four dynamics of personality organization which impart structure and guide behavior of blacks are identified: (1) individual versus group identity; (2) trust versus mistrust; (3) personal accountability versus contextual blame; and (4) minority and majority. (KH)

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BEING BLACK IN AMERICA: THE POLITICS OF PERSONALITY[1]

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INTRODUCTION

When I was asked to give a talk for Division 8, it was suggested that I talk about racial issues and if possible, consider some aspect of personality. I have been writing for some time now on the question of race and racism (Jones, 1972; 1983; 1986a,b), drawing distinctions between race and ethnicity; and their defining characteristics color and culture. I have not specifically addressed questions of personality, but the relation of culture to personality is a longstanding concern in social science. In developing my comments today, I took this occasion to speak in some detail about what may be seen as a simple and somewhat obvious relationship--of the personality formation and expression of Black Americans and the legacy of racism.

Put simply, Black personality is in part an adaptation to the political contours of racism. The conflict between the freedoms and rights of United States citizens is juxtaposed to the denial of freedom and rights that is the history of the Black presence in this country. If we view personality as the resultant of coping patterns and socialization directives, then Black personality is, in part, the cumulative representation of the effects of racism over four centuries. It reflects over time, the effects of the form and structure racism takes, and comes to signal the nature of race relations at any point in time.

However, the only systematic statements of Black personality present it as a debilitating self-defeating reaction to at best difficult circumstances. While this may to some degree apply, it in no way can account for the resilience and resourcefulness of Black personality-- the continuing growth

and accomplishment of Black Americans against perpetually disadvantageous odds. I will today discuss with you, ways in which we may move beyond this conception towards a view that offers a perspective that fits the reality.

I will not deal with the content of personality, as a fundamental aspect of my view is that personality is a consequence of adaptation. In the absence of thorough fine-grained analysis of the environmental exigencies to which Black personality adapts, it would be premature to focus on that content. Such as we have in psychology focused on the content of Black personality, it has been from a single-minded perspective that assumes (1) the only impact of racism is debilitating and negative; and (2) the model content of personality is that which sustains an individualistic, materialistic, quantitative, and future-oriented behavioral style. A thorough response to the ideas contained in this paper will hopefully help chart a theoretical and empirical course that will illuminate such issues with greater clarity and relevance to the real experiences and capabilities of Black Americans.

The presence in the United States of persons of African descent has been a constant source of conflict from the time the first African set foot in Virginia. This conflict has produced behaviors at various times violent, heroic, inspired, pathetic and disgraceful. While the racial conflicts have continued in various forms for nearly four centuries, the problematic has been more frequently caste in simple political terms. The Constitution that governs this Republic set forth the definition that these Africans were to be counted as three-fifths the man for purposes of determining taxable wealth. While at the same time, the Declaration of Independence declared

the inalienable rights of men. The political practice and philosophy that governed this Nation then, and governs it now, is confused, ambiguous, and we might say schizophrenic when it comes to understanding the American of African descent.

The Eminent Swedish Sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal understood this fundamental problem as An American Dilemma (1944). He described the manifestation of that problem as the Negro Problem, in these terms:

> "There is a Negro problem in the United States...The very presence of the Negro in America; his fate in this country through slavery, Civil War and Reconstruction; his recent career and his present status; his accommodation; his protest and his aspiration; in fact his entire biological, historical and social existence as a participant American represent...an anomaly in the structure of American society."(p. lxix,)

While this reflection of America's ambivalence and ambiguity on Black Americans has laid heavy on the Nation for four centuries, the EXPERIENCE of this ambivalence by persons of African descent has not always been properly understood. The expression of that experience is given as long ago as 1903 in clear, compelling and commanding terms by W.E.B. DuBois in his Souls of Black Folks, when he states:

> "After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it

from being torn asunder.

> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,--this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging, he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face." (p. 214-215)

The political struggle, then, is double-edged. While the Nation struggles with its dilemma; embracing the concept of equality while practicing of racism; Black Americans struggle with their duality; an African heritage which bestows degradation and insult, and an American heritage which seems to offer promise and opportunity.

As a result, being Black in America often leads to a Bifurcation of self. As DuBois noted, there is a twoness which itself, as with the Nation in which it lives, creates political turmoil, conflict and compromise. "Are you a Black Man or an American?" Marvin Kalb queried Jesse Jackson on Meet the Press during his presidential campaign in 1984. Kalb demanded the two were mutually exclusive states of being, Jackson rejected the premise in defense of his person. The interchange went like this.

> Kalb: The question..[is]..are you a Black man who happens to be an American running for the presidency, or are you an American who happens to be a Black man running for the presidency?
>
> Jackson: Well, I'm both an American and a Black at one and the same time. I'm both of these...

After a lengthy reply from Jackson detailing the issues he has addressed in

his candidacy and asserting that they are fundamentally national issues that should be of concern to any American citizen, Kalb is still searching for an answer to the question that perplexes him.

> Kalb: What I'm trying to get at is something that addresses a question no-one seems able to grasp and that is, are your priorities deep inside yourself, to the degree that anyone can look inside himself, those of a Black man who happens to be an American, or the reverse?
>
> Jackson: Well I was born Black in America, I was not born American in Black! You're asking a funny kind of Catch-22 question. My interests are national interests.(excerpted from Meet The Press, February 13, 1984)

To understand being black in America is in part to understand this Catch-22 political reality. In 1965, claiming to be Black was a political decision with personal consequences. The Bifurcation of self was portrayed graphically, if cynically, by the Oreo Cookie metaphor--black on the outside-white on the inside! The problem was made even more acute by Eldridge Cleaver's (1968) dictum, "You're either part of the problem or part of the solution.! The politics of society are internalized as the politics of self. Growing up Black in America is a political process which necessarily informs the psychological parameters of self-consciousness.

Politics as Conflict and Compromise

The political dimensions of patterns of inequality in a country whose basic Creed demands it has been the focus of several inquiries. Myrdal's (1944) analysis of the American Dilemma illustrates the problem with respect to Black Americans. Roger Daniels' Politics of Prejudice(1968) documents a similar pattern regarding Japanese in California. Kate Millett's Sexual Politics (1970) catalogues the political dimensions of power and domination that characterize this patriarchal society. R.D. Laing's Politics of Experience (1969) shows that when one is alienated from his or her own experience, it often facilitates performance in this materialistic society and hence is encouraged, taught and viewed as normal. However, according to Laing, behavior is a function of experience, so this destruction of experience makes destructive behavior much easier to perform.

Personal Politics might be broadly viewed as the art of obtaining desireable outcomes against competing alternatives and self-interests. The presence of Black people in America is itself a political reality that has been a constant source of conflict for this Nation as Myrdal suggested. That presence is clearly tracked by the United States Constitution, Presidential Executive Orders, Supreme Court Decisions, and Congressional legislation where specific actions, laws and directives can be shown to be responsive to Black and other political agitation. What is important for us to recognize is that the political conflict that plays out on a public, organizational/structural level, has personal psychological parameters that,

in my mind, ought to be a major concern of psychologists interesting in understanding human psychological functioning. This continued political role of Black Americans in this society has psychological ramifications for Black life. These ramifications each imply psychological conflict. The following are some examples.

1. The force of racialism and racism makes the Black presence one of political moment. The political conflict is defined in terms of the contradictions inherent in manifest inequality juxtaposed with a creed of freedom and natural rights.

2. Given the facts of the ambiguity and ambivalence suggested by racialism, the art of political behavior requires blacks and whites alike, to adopt strategies for achieving the outcomes considered to be in their best interest. Defining Black self-interest in a way that encompasses national self-interest seems to be a necessary political strategy for Blacks, but one which, as Marvin Kalb illustrates, is not easy to accomplish.

3. The personal strategies for survival often create a conflict between that behavior regarded as appropriate in Mainstream America, and that behavior judged to be an expression of self and circumstance. Must one choose, as Kalb apparently wants, between being an American and being Black? Is it true that there is no Black culture beyond the parameters of lower income, rural or ghetto dwelling poverty? Once a Black person becomes educated and middle-class, is Blackness no longer relevant?

The questions raised above are not simply rhetorical but frame a crucial dimension of Black experience. For van denBerghe (1967), Race refers to a group that is socially defined on the basis of physical criteria(eg, skin color). Ethnicity, on the other hand, refers to a group that is socially defined on the basis of cultural criteria(values, history, symbols and so on). Black Americans are by these criteria, both a race and an ethnic group. To the extent that the political problem is seen as simple disaffection for skin color, then achieving a "color blind society" as the administration argues, will not solve the problem. However, if we view Blacks as an ethnic group, then understanding the correlates and expressions of Black culture is critical.

Now let me say what all this means to me. Being black in America means to be identified with a peculiar history that attaches itself to conflict, denial and negativity. When I ventured forth into the world, it was not a neutral place in which those with the most advanced and those with less stayed behind. Rather, it was very clear very early that power and control rested in white hands. Socialization was learning how, when and where to exercise talent, opinions, desires and beliefs. Being aggressive in certain contexts was a political decision. Socialization demanded that one know when and where it was appropriate, if at all. The consequences of the same behavior are not always the same for blacks and whites. For example, Henderson (1975) showed that while scores on the Edwards Personality Preference Schedule did not vary between black and white policeman in a large northern city, scores for aggression, assertiveness and

heterosexuality were negatively correlated with performance evaluations for black policemen, but uncorrelated with evaluations for white policemen. Thus behaving in ways that might be seen as efficacious and normal, may have negative consequences for Black men. If one surmises this to be true, what does he do? Whatever decision is made, the situation calls for political compromise. Learning the consequences of behavior is often an act of political socialization for Black children.

Let's turn our attention now to Black personality.

Black Personality

As a frame of reference for what I mean by Personality, I adopt Gordon Allport's 1937 working definition

> PERSONALITY IS THE DYNAMIC ORGANIZATION WITHIN THE INDIVIDUAL OF THOSE PSYCHOPHYSICAL SYSTEMS THAT DETERMINE HIS UNIQUE ADJUSTMENTS TO HIS ENVIRONMENT(p. 48).

Put another way, personality is that creative adjustment to environmental circumstances and as such is a mode of survival.

It is quite clear that the predominant and recurring environmental reality for Black Americans is racialism, oppression, racism and discrimination. Black personality, then, is inevitably, but not exclusively, that composite individual adaptation to racism.

DuBois acknowledged this fact in 1903 with his idea of double-consciousness. Social scientists have addressed this issue of Black Personality over the years, always from this adaptation to racism perspective. However, what has dominated the thinking and reasoning of

social scientists has been the belief that the personality that adjusts to racism is necessarily a neurotically driven defensive reaction to racism. This view has spawned the self-hate theories of black personality, and failed to understand the complexity of personality that adjustment to racist circumstances requires. This view is at best incomplete for several reasons.

The first reason is that personality reactions to extreme hostile and difficult circumstances are not always negation, defeat and doubt. Gail Sheehy (1985) has elaborated the idea of the Triumphant Personality in her recent book. She documents those personal triumphs over adversity and specifies several features that characterize such victorious persons. As it applies to the Black Personality, racism presents not only a problem but an opportunity to develop resilience, creative problem solving, discipline and resolve.

The second reason is that because of segregation, cultural differences and racism itself, black people spend a vast majority of their time in contact with other black people. Thus, systems that confer self-esteem and accomplishment, love and respect can do so to a large degree independent of whites and the specific problem of discrimination.

A third reason, is that many Black People prefer to be with people who share their values, preferences and behavioral styles. Thus, whether racial integration happens and to what degree is not going to materially affect the kind of life led by a large number of Black people.

It might be useful to briefly touch upon the most thoroughly elaborated self-hate theory of Black personality to learn of its presumptions and concepts. Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey published The

Mark of Oppression in 1951. They conducted psychoanalytic interviews with 25 Black urban men and women of varying ages and socio-economic circumstances. They summarized their analysis of these case studies in the following terms:

> The Negro, in contrast to the white, is a more unhappy person; he has a harder environment to live in, and the internal stress is greater.By "unhappy" we mean he enjoys less, he suffers more. There is not one personality trait of the Negro the source of which cannot be traced to his difficult living conditions. There are no exceptions to this rule. The final result is a wretched internal life. (p. 81)

For Kardiner and Ovesey, the mark of oppression is low self-esteem tantamount to self-contempt which leads to idealization of whites, frantic attempts to be white, which because it is unattainable, leads to self-hatred, hostility toward whites, introjection of white ideals and a resultant projection of hatred to other Blacks. This is a rather grim psychological scenario. This unrelenting psychological suffering, according to Kardiner and Ovesey, is due simply to the recurring and continuing problem of racism.

A somewhat more versatile view was offered by Pettigrew(1964) when he acknowledged that at least three different kinds of responses to racial oppression could occur. One could move toward the oppressor seeking acceptance for his humanity and determined to be treated equally. One could move against the oppressor as the so-called militancy of the Civil Rights movement was perceived as doing; or one could move away from the oppressor, establishing independence and autonomy of values, custom and culture. Which of these modes of response occur and in what combination might be viewed as a pattern of personal adaptation to a racialist world.

Perhaps one of the most clear expressions of the politics of black personality is shown by the social science statement on race which informed the Supreme COurt in its 1954 desegregation ruling. This statement was based in part on research of Kenneth and Mamie Clark (1947) which showed that Black children rejected their Black or Negro identity as demonstrated by their selection of a white doll in response to instructions to select the doll that looks like you; is a nice doll; that you like to play with. This finding dovetailed with the mark of oppression idea to leave one with the view that the inevitable and inexorable effect of racism on Black Personality was negative and debilitating. The history of the survival of Black Americans could hardly be as it is if this were the whole story.

Black psychologists have recently mounted a systematic effort to alter this view of Black Personality. In general, this approach emphasizes the African cultural contributions to the style and content of Black adaptation to racism(i.e., Black Personality). This view takes an Afro-Centric approach and holds as essential, the understanding of the political

dimensions of Black adaptation.

Charles Thomas (1969) coined the term Negromachy to describe the negative mental health state associated with self-hate and internalized white standards proposed by Kardiner and Ovesey. William Cross (1975) extended Thomas' notion in a stage-model of the Negro-to-Black conversion experience. Cross' model followed the development of Black personality from the negative aspects of Negromachy, to a positive immersion in Blackness that resulted in a new self-definition based on positive, effective and desireable identification with a Black collective.

Semaj(1979) presented a three-phase model of extended identity anchored at the low end by what he calls "Alien" personality. This personality finds blackness alien, internalizes European standards, is individualistic in orientation and rejects or denigrates his African origins. In a middle phase, the person is "Diffused" as he tries to balance a positive view of blackness with a recognition that power resides in the majority white culture. The third phase is the "Collective" in which commitment to the well-being of Blacks as a group is of paramount concern.

In general, Black personality theories of Black psychologists share three main features:

1. Each sees the negative consequences of reactions to racism in the form of internalized white standards and rejection of black self-images.

2. Each view projects a dynamic by which this negativity is transformed into a positive growth that involves rejection of the internalized white ideal, and the development of an active engagement with the collective Black group identity.

3. Each position posits an acceptance of the existence and value of

African cultural origins.

In comparing the self-hate portrayals of Kardiner and Ovesey with the stage-developmental models of Black Psychologists, we find that both identify the pivotal role of racial discrimination and oppression in the unfolding of Black personality. Both perspectives view these influences as restrictive, negative and undesirable. However, the Black psychologists see a positive identity evolving from a political perspective in which one's personal role in the politics of group racial conflict offers the opportunity of growing self-expression. The strong Black personality is the one rooted in an affinity for the African legacy and a commitment to positive collective Black outcomes.

There is merit to both views. However, both fall short of providing a comprehensive account of the variable contexts of Black personality. The old view sees self-hate as the only response to racism. This may have been more apropos in its time, but it greatly overstated the case then, and is of relatively little use to us now. The new view gives a better account of positive developments in Black personality, but seems to limit it to group identity. While this might be politically desireable, it is not required in a healthy personality, and tends to ignore or reject those Black persons whose lives are not intimately tied to visible Black group identity. Neither position seems to specify the potential positive consequences of coping with a hostile and subtly resistant environment for the emergence of positive personality structures. In my mind, this is where the most fruitful work lies.

Not only do the major theoretical positions on Black personality fall short, but the empirical literature is paltry indeed. A search of the

computerized PASAR data-base of published articles and dissertations for the twenty year period from 1966-1985 retrieved 176 entries to the index terms, Black and personality. While there may well have been other studies relevant to Black personality that focused on specific attributes such as locus of control, achievement and so on, it is significant that we do not have more empirical interest in the question of Black personality.

Of those entries retrieved, over half (N = 91) were dissertations, and over 70% (N = 125) were published during the first half of the time period, prior to 1976. Table 1 and Figure 1 of your handout illustrate these trends. In addition, these published articles by and large are not

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Insert Table 1, Figure 1 about here

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found in APA sponsored journals. Table 2 shows that the leading

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Insert Table 2 about here

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journal for black personality articles is Psychological Reports (n = 10) followed by the Journal of Negro Education (n = 9). APA journals produced nine articles or 10.6% of the total. The absence of published research on Black personality in primary, referred journals, combined with a preponderance of studies done as dissertations, suggests that the subject does not enjoy major standing in the research enterprise of psychology, but does seem to be a subject of concern to young investigators beginning their research careers.

I'd like to turn now to a presentation of what this state of affairs

suggests about understanding Black personality.

Towards an Understanding of Black Personality

Division 8 of APA gives the H.A. Murray award each year for excellence in research that deals with "the thematic unity of individual lives in the midst of phenotypic diversity." I am here arguing that the meaning of Black personality derives from the thematic unity of Black consciousness in a racist society.

While there is phenotypic diversity in the lives of black Americans, the goal of a theory of Black personality is to understand how racism provides a thematic unity that brings Black Americans into a common orbit. However, the unity of reactions to racism is not equivalent to sameness. Thus I am arguing that reactions to racism form a common bond or unity among Black Americans, but the behavioral and even psychological manifestations of those reactions will vary from person to person.

Shweder and Bourne (1984) have shown that members of individualistic societies prefer trait labels, whereas members of sociocentric societies prefer context-qualified descriptions. Black personality emerges as a context-qualified expression of modes of adjustment to a complex circumstance.

Boykin (1985) captures this complexity in his notion of the Triple Quandary. In his model, Black Americans live as Americans and pursue mainstream goals and participate in mainstream life. They also are associated with minority status and thus join other groups who face political, social and economic disadvantage. Finally, they live out a Black cultural legacy that includes an African ethos as well as that peculiar

history of slavery, oppression and centuries of coping with them. Marvin Kalb tried to pin Jesse Jackson to the mutual exclusivity of Black and Mainstream American life. Jackson rejected this dichotomy, and further, seized the middle ground in establishing his Rainbow Coalition, a common minority fate.

There are a number of questions and perspectives one can bring to understanding the dynamic of Black psychological life in the United States. Following are some ways we could view the intersection of racism and Black personality.

1. The thematic unity of Black Personality exists both in the cumulative reactions to racism and in the ways in which an African cultural legacy influences the unfolding of Black Culture.

2. If Black Personality reflects cumulative adaptation to racial discrimination, then changes in Black Personality should reflect changes in society. We often talk about neo-racism, Symbolic Racism, Aversive Racism and other new forms of systematic and subtle discrimination [references]. What new coping strategies do they require, what changes in Black Personality must transpire to meet this challenge?

3. It is often argued that adapting to negative environments lead to the establishment of disadvantageous personality traits, those viewed as undesirable in Mainstream America. This Catch-22 situation, sees society creating ghetto conditions leading to adaptations which are then judged to reflect personal and collective deficiencies because they do no conform to mainstream expectations. In these instances, there is a tendency to attribute inferior psychological functioning to persons who have low social

standing. It is not necessarily the case that the two are correlated, and failure to recognize that fact often means that evidence of psychological strength will go unnoticed.

4. Any theory of Black Personality must account for

a) the diversity of adaptations to the fundamental realities of racialism in this society;

b) the fact that coping with the subtle and sometimes blatant forms that racism takes will often lead to strength of character and creativity in its expression.

5. Because the unity of being Black and American has been politically disconnected, Black Personality is often expressed as a bifurcation of self. This bifurcation may present psychic conflict when it produces approach-avoidance tensions at a single instant, or it may be a source of adaptation when one selectively calls upon the self that is most suited to handle a given situation. When we take a nomothetic approach, as personality theorists have so long favored, the psychic tension is the preferred account of this bifurcation and the result is a mark of oppression analysis. If, however, we take an idiographic view, one based on the variance of expression across situations, then the bifurcation works as expanded possibilities for coping.

This conflict is most crucially revealed when behaviors that are expressive-of-self are often detached from behaviors that are instrumental-for-self. The decision processes that guide acts of expression and instrumentality are among the most politically crucial to Black psychological functioning.

Now what has been lacking in conceptions of Black personality is a

consideration of the dynamic organization, motivation and self-regulating features of that personality. That is, what are the determinants of how Black Personality is organized and expressed? The Kardiner and Ovesey view simply states that without exception, racism leads to a low self-esteem which is manifested in self-hate, internalization of white values, and ultimately apathy, hedonism, criminality. Black theorists see the emergence of three basic personality structures, one that is negatively conditioned as suggested by Kardiner and Ovesey; one that is marginally in two worlds as implied by DuBois and given popularity by E. Franklin Frazier; or one that is emersed in a black group context. Each of these views, to my mind, presents a linear possibility that fails to account for the multidimensional complexities of Black life in America.

For the sake of discussion, and in keeping with the politics metaphor, let's consider the dynamic forces in black personality as political platforms that give meaning to the psychic structures. I envision four such platforms within which, variations will determine the personality structure and its behavioral manifestation.

1. Individual versus Group Identity. In essence, one can escape the limitations of a negative group identification by espousing individuality. Both the mark of oppression and Black liberation models assume the pre-imminence of group identification, the former as negative and the latter as positive. However, I simply assert that Black people vary in the degree to which and the circumstances under which group identity is espoused. The argument on behalf of a 'colorblind' society is an argument for individual identification. To understand one of the fundamental dynamics of Black personality is to understand how a given person handles the individual

versus group identity decision.

2. Trust versus Mistrust. Following the Eriksonian (1965) emphasis on trust as the cornerstone of personality development, it is clearly a crucial aspect of Black personality. Given a hostile environment in which majority culture has systematically earned mistrust, one must nevertheless develop strategies to work with the system. The behavioral style and psychic motivation for that interaction will certainly be different if it follows from a basic trust in the system (or at least a belief in its potential for fairness), or mistrust.

3. Personal Accountability versus Contextual Blame. This platform is a variant of the locus of control concept. However, unlike the locus idea which seeks to locate causal effects on personal outcomes, accountability refers to the acceptance of responsibility for personal outcomes regardless of the locus of causation. By choosing to be accountable, one is acknowledging the determinacy of intention. Clearly we see this distinction when for example, an account of a Black teenage mother shows her overcoming the difficulty of teenage poverty and motherhood to complete high school, care for her child, and build a career for herself. She accepted personal accountability, even though it might have been easy to blame her context for misfortune.

4. Minority versus Majority. This final platform is a matter of perspective. William McGuire (1982) and his colleagues have shown that one's spontaneous self-concept includes gender and ethnicity to the degree that one is in the minority in a family or peer situation. According to this then, the person who is in a racially mixed environment is more likely to find his or her racial characteristics more salient. This may well

account for some of the negative findings of the effects of bussing. Bussing makes race more salient while at the same time, continues the domination of white cultural standards.

These four dynamics of personality organization impart structure and guide behavior among Black Americans. Because of the bifurcation of self, it is possible to move across the spectrum of these platforms mixing and combining perspectives, preferences and styles as the situation demands. Indeed this is one of the major strengths of the reactions to racism--multi-dimensionality and biculturality. By considering this dynamic, one may now find a way to include the wide diversity of Black experiences of racism, and the variation in Black responses to it, within a comprehensive theory of personality.

The research agenda must direct itself at how these dynamics are socialized, chosen, experienced and expressed. As we saw, the empirical work in Black personality has not been vital. To tackle the implications of the above formulation would make a vital research endeavor. To understand how Black Americans have survived the hostilities of racism and discrimination with psychic strength is an important goal of psychology. In the process of understanding this profound dynamic of Black Americans, we may well hold up a mirror to the Soul of this society.

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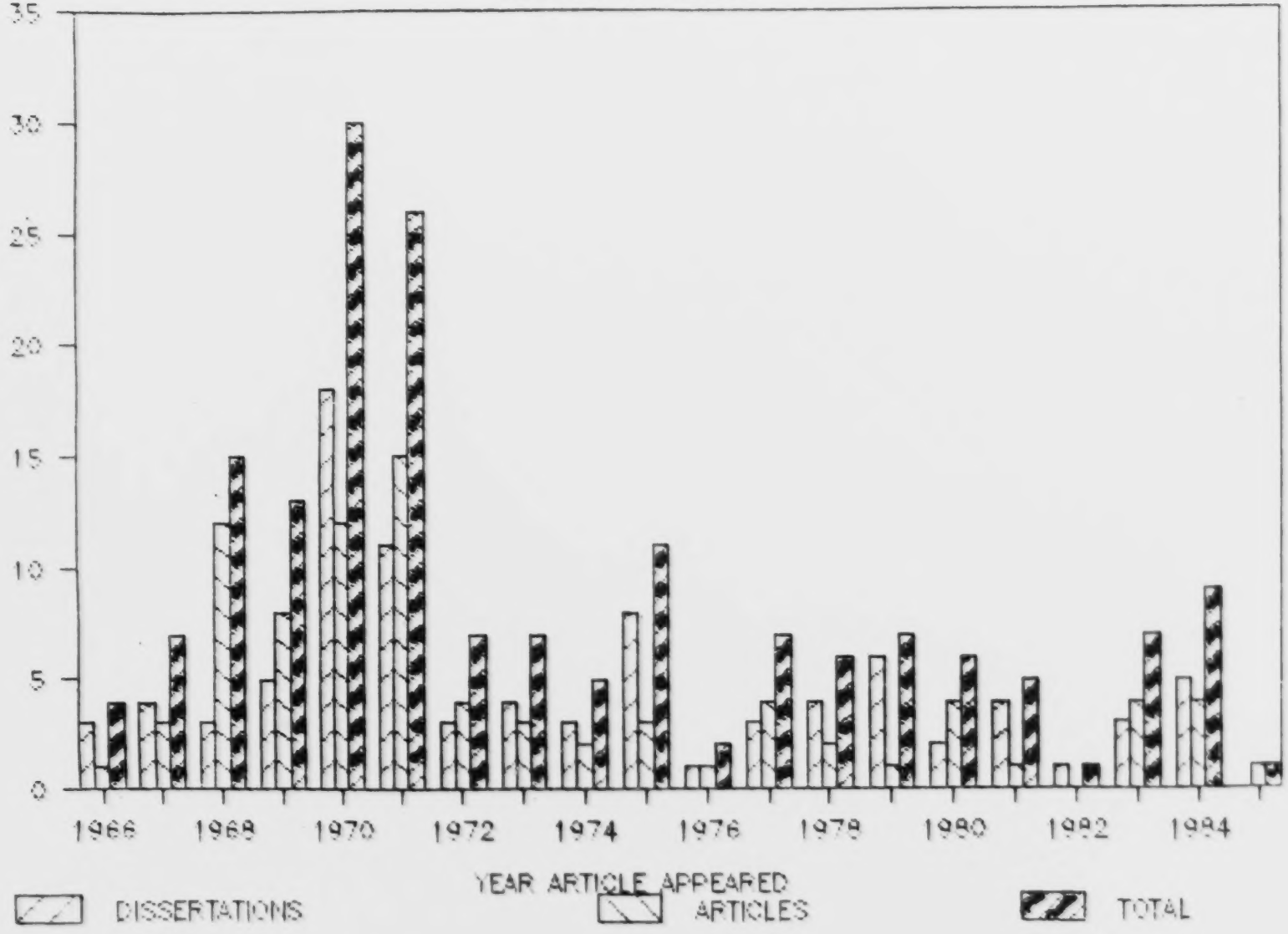
TABLE 1

PUBLISHED ARTICLES
BLACK PERSONALITY
1966-1985

YEAR	DISSERTATIONS	RESEARCH ARTICLES	TOTAL
1966	3	1	4
1967	4	3	7
1968	3	12	15
1969	5	8	13
1970	18	12	30
1971	11	15	26
1972	3	4	7
1973	4	3	7
1974	3	2	5
1975	8	3	11
1976	1	1	2
1977	3	4	7
1978	4	2	6
1979	6	1	7
1980	2	4	6
1981	4	1	5
1982	1	0	1
1983	3	4	7
1984	5	4	9
1985	0	1	1
Totals	91	85	176
Percentage	51.70%	48.30%	

NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON

BLACK PERSONALITY



NUMBER OF ARTICLES

TABLE 2

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 3

Published Articles on Black Personality
1966-1985

JOURNAL	YEAR 66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	total
Psych. Reports			2	2	1	2		1					1						1		10
J Negro Ed.			4		1	1		1	1			1									9
Developmntl psych*					3		2														5
J Clinical Psych			1			1													1		3
J Social Issues				3																	3
Proceedings APA				1		2															3
British J Ed Psych						1		1			1										3
Psych in Schools	1		1																		2
Gifted Child Quart.				1		1															2
Am Ed Resarch J.					1		1														2
J COunseling Psych*					1		1														2
Merril Palmer Quart					2																2
Child Development						1							1								2
Elementary School J		1																			1
Cal. Mentl Hlth Dgst		1																			1
Religious Ed		1																			1
J Nervous Ment Dis.			1																		1
J Health&Social Beh			1																		1
Speech Monographs			1																		1
Psych Record			1																		1
J Proj tech&Pers Assant				1																	1
Mental Hygiene					1																1
Child Study J.					1																1
Revista interamericana					1																1
JPSP*					1																1
J Pers Assesant						1															1
J Ed Psych*						1															1
Ed Research						1															1
Perceptual&Mot Skills						1															1
J Ed Research						1															1
Genetic Psych Monog.						1															1
A J Orthopsychiatry									1												1
Int Men Health Newsltr										1											1
J Psychology										1											1
Sociology&Social Research										1											1
Others**																					
TOTAL	1	3	12	8	13	15	4	3	2	3	1	4	2	1	4	1	0	4	4	1	85

* APA Journals accounted for 9 of the 85 published articles or 10.6%.

** There were an additional 15 Journals that published one article each between 1975 and 1985. They were Educational and Psychological Measurement; J Marriage and Family; Research in Higher Education; J Social Psychology; Research Communication in Psychology; Psychological Research J; J Youth and Adolescence; J School Psychology; Am J Mental Deficiency; Council for Scientific & Industrial Research Reports; J Non-White Concerns in Personnel and Guidance; Psychology: A Quarterly J Human Behavior; International J Sport Psychology; J National Medical Assoc.; Adolescence.